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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. V. NO. 41. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1899. WHOLE NO. 229.

## IF I SHOULD DIE TO-NIGHT.

If I should die to-night,
My friends would look upon my quiet face
Before they laid it in its resting-place,
And deem that death had left it almost fair;
And, laying snow-white flowers against my hair,
Would smooth it down, with tearful tenderness,
And fold my hands with lingering caress—
Poor hands, so empty, and so cold to-night!

If I should die to-night,
My friends would call to mind with loving thought
Some kindly deed the icy hands had wrought;
Some gentle word the frozen lips had said,
Errands on which the willing feet had sped;
The memory of my selfishness and pride,
My hasty words, would all be laid aside,
And so I should be loved, and mourned, to-night.

If I should die to-night,
Even hearts estranged would turn once more to me,
Recalling other days remorsefully,—
The eyes which chid me, with averted glance,
Would look upon me as of yore, perchance,
And soften in the old familiar way;
For who could war with dumb, unconscious clay?
So I might rest forgiven of all, to-night.

O friends! I pray to-night,
Keep not your kisses for my dead, cold brow;
The way is lonely, let me feel them now.
Think gently of me; I am travel-worn;
My faltering feet are pierced with many a thorn.
Forgive, O hearts estranged, forgive, I plead!
When dreamless rest is mine, I shall not need
The tenderness for which I long, to-night.

—B. E. Smith.

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## WORK IN THE FUTURE.

In all ages and in all societies, from savagery to civilization, work has been looked upon as a curse. The Jewish God pronounced the fate of fallen mankind one of labor, as the worst to which he could condemn them; and the ambition of the most enlightened man today, is to attain a position where he can make others work for him, and shirk it himself. The wise and the ignorant, the poor and the rich, the good and the bad, the scientific and the superstitious alike consider work as something to be shunned if possible.

Even the "scientific Socialist" shares the dread of the multitude, and believes that labor will always be something to be eliminated, lessened, got rid of as far as possible. The conservative economist declares that men would avoid all work if not compelled to perform it by the whip of the owner, the authority of the employer, or the sting of starvation; the Socialist also says that under the best of economic conditions, men would continue to produce with the methods which would go farthest toward eliminating labor—that the best machinery, the closest division of labor would be employed so as to save all the time and exertion possible.

The idea that we should all naturally shirk labor comes out of the long and bitter past, in which the toilers have produced under the most horrible conditions imaginable, never for themselves, always for some one else. We as yet scarcely know of any other meaning to the word labor. It is drudgery, slavery, ignorance, coarseness, humiliation. The people who work only as they wish something made or done for their own comfort, are not sufficiently numerous to form a class. The very wealthy hire their work done, those who labor at all, labor for others for the pittance received, and cannot afford to work for themselves alone. So that work for the sake of the enjoyment of the immediate results, is so rare as to be in general almost incomprehensible. We can form no conception of what necessary work would be to us under free industrial conditions.

Ever since reading William Morris' essays on "Art," which every economic student should read, I have thought differently concerning this subject. Labor need not necessarily be something ever to be dreaded and eliminated; we may come to love it as a pleasure. This great poetic writer, shows that all productive exertion may be elevated into the realms of art; he shows that all art must rest upon the capacity for close, painstaking labor, and that work performed for the love of it or of the thing produced may always be made artistic. In this connection he says: "There is no class now which is likely to encourage or further the aims of art; the rich have not and will not labor enough, the poor have not time to devote to the niceties of their task, since their only object is to turn out a piece of work in a given time that will be accepted and bring them the pittance which alone enables them to live."

When I ask the scientific Socialist if I should be allowed to work outside the state factories, or, since they object to the word "state," the machine-shops of the collectivity, he answers that I shall be only too glad to work with the collectivity, as I can do my share of production so much easier. "All nature follows the line of least resistance," he reminds me, and I should be considered insane if I persisted in trying to work in an isolated manner.

I reply that "every one does that which he thinks will promote his highest happiness." Idleness is not to every one and at all times a condition of highest happiness. I can well imagine that I might love to produce something upon which my skill, my loving, close attention, my ingenuity might be expended for many a day; I can well imagine that there might be people, who particularly desired the articles I thus produced, for some daintiness or perfection which the public machine-shop did not bestow upon their productions. I might prefer to earn my living working in this way to any other method; should I be invading any one's rights by so doing? I have an idea that such cases would become more and more common as free productive systems progressed. Morris said, "We shall become jealous of handing over everything to the jaws of a machine."

I believe that machinery will be made to do the work that no one cares to do; but that, instead of the tendency toward further division of labor, improved machinery, work in great collectivities, under freedom, we shall do our work because we love it and can make it beautiful by bestowing upon it our intelligence, our personal, careful attention, and it will be done more inividualistically (if I may be permitted the word) than now. Work will become *art* and will be loved for its own sake.

If this be true, the one great argument for a collectivity, falls to the ground; and that for voluntary association of few or many individuals, becomes strong, logical, the natural outcome.

Lizzie M. Holmes.

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## "THIS ONE THING I DO."

As one who believes in no government, except self-government, I find it necessary to adopt some line of action consistent with my convictions.

In a world where the majority of people desire to have place and power over others, where all precedents are in favor of some external authority, it is not easy for an out and out egocrat to live and speak openly.

No one man can upset the world in a day. To reform or, better, to regenerate and revolutionize humanity must be the work of many generations of patient, earnest, honest thinkers.

What can I do? What can I do *now?* What can I do *alone*, if necessary? That is the one question for me to answer. Without money, without social influence, without many sympathetic and powerful friends, what am I doing for the cause of a free and faithful world of men and women?

I have only my own life to control and direct. I have only my own thoughts to make clear and noble and to speak out in such way as I can. Like others I must bear my own burden, or at least, be no burden to any one else. Like others I can find plenty of over-burdened ones whom I can occasionally help.

I am surrounded by institutions whose value and authority I must question and disown, or else I must question and disown my own nature. If I obey the living impulses and true convictions of my nature, then I find myself in the hands of "law" it may be, or at least under social condemnation if not open and hostile contempt.

What can I do? I am responsible to my own self. I must make such a use of every opportunity as will give me peace in my own mind. That is all I can do, and it is everything that needs to be done.

The more I think of it the more am I convinced that each one of us has in his or her hands a power to shape human destinies that is vastly greater than the power of any organization. In the nature of things the egocratic idea and principle gets hold of separate individuals and tends to separate them still more. This is as it should be.

I prefer that the true egocrat should stand alone with a consciousness of his own self-dependence, doing everything from his own initiative, than that many should lose themselves in a vain attempt to organize and institute any kind of society.

What I would try to do now and by myself is to *think clear and to speak straight.* Clear thinking and perfect candor will certainly produce a lasting and beneficial effect.

The world needs men who in themselves are strong and true. Such men are more than societies. It should be to us as a religion to act and speak openly what our natures suggest and inspire. The greatest good I can do to my fellow-man is to put all the force of my being into whatever I say or do.

Victor E. Southworth.

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## WHAT THE WAR WAS FOR.

"It is not believed that any thought of determined opposition to law and order exists in Porto Rico, but should such be the truth it would be crushed at once, and would prove to be the suicide of the island."

Commenting on the preceding remarks of Major-General Henry, commanding at Porto Rico, the Wilmington *Justice* says: "Law and order, of course, means the government of Major-General Henry, and to complain of it will be rebellion. This is the celebrated kind of order that 'reigned at Warsaw.' It is likewise an indication of the 'law and order' backed by bayonets, that in due time will be extended from Porto Rico to the rest of the United States.

"A significant feature of the document is the reference to the 'capitalists' who are deterred from making investments in the island because of mutterings against the present 'law and order.' When the power of the bayonets under Major General Henry's command has made itself respected in the island, 'capitalists' will proceed, under military protection, to grab the land and franchises of the island.

"There is a lesson in this for the American workingman. Will he heed it?"—The *Star.*

# FREE SOCIETY.

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**Anarchy.**—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

## NOTE AND COMMENT.

Again we cordially request the readers in arrears to renew their subscription if they want to read *Free Society*, or if they are unable to remit at present to let us know whether or not they desire to read the paper, otherwise their names will be taken off the list.

• • •

A man of this city is on trial for being married to four women and will, of course, be punished for "immorality." But the same government that prosecutes this man subsidizes the Sulu sultan with $20,000 a year, that he may be enabled to furnish his harem with forty wives or more. Such is the consistency of "law and order": that which is a crime in this country is a virtue in Sulu.

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According to dispatches the peasants of Bessarabia are suffering starvation, and as they were not degraded enough to silently yield to "God's love" bestowed upon them they rebelled. To pacify these ungrateful citizens the government—which is supposed to protect the weak—sent them not provisions as a sane mind would suppose, but troops who filled the empty stomachs of the poor peasants with lead. The Russian government seems to heed the lessons that the American government is giving the workers. How long will people worship an institution that oppresses and robs them?

• • •

That the Yaqui Indians are not as submissive and void of an independent spirit as the "civilized" workers is demonstrated today. Two years ago the Mexican government robbed these Indians of their land, to be devoured by rich individuals and corporations. Now they have risen to a man in order to restore the stolen land or to die. Had the "civilized" victims of God, government and greed half as much spunk, the robbers and governors would soon take to the woods or change their occupations. The few Yaquis will be exterminated, of course, in order to establish "law and order," but the true historian will record the Mexican governors as common murderers.

• • •

Phil Francis in the *Star* of this city very truly says: "These people (the Filipinos) have been represented by the millionaire-bossed press as half-naked savages who are not fit to govern themselves. They have been pictured as semi-barbarians, running about their native wilds in undress, armed with bows and arrows, and not much in advance of African negroes. And yet our soldiers find the dwellings of these savages adorned with handsome furniture, costly mirrors, elegant china and expensive pianos—all of which are smashed, presumably in order to give these savages a first lesson in civilization and the blessings of government."

• • •

"A Manila dispatch announces that the gunboat Napidan shelled Paete without warning," says the *Star*, "after the people had been encouraged to return by the assurance that they would not be molested if they peaceably attended to their business. One child was killed." The lieutenant's excuse is that he had *heard* that insurgents had re-occupied the town. How insignificant are the deeds committed by the "bomb-throwing" Anarchists compared with those perpetrated by the government upon hundreds of the innocent Filipinos—men, women and children!

• • •

General Ludlow has suppressed a daily paper in Cuba, on the ground that it is an "obscene sheet." The paper was guilty of telling impalatable truths which no government can endure. Other papers have been warned to heed the lesson.

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It may never have occurred to you in just this way, but we make the assertion that were it not for labor organizations and their conservative habits and repressive influence the scrap between the Dollar and the Man would be on right now. Organized labor is today the mainstay of our government and its institutions.—Pueblo *Courier*.

Why, then, do you rebuke the claim of the Anarchists and Socialists that the labor organizations with their present tendency are hostile to their own interests, Mr. Editor? Not until organized labor becomes antagonistic to our government and its institutions will it be of any value to the progressive movement of mankind. A. I.

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## DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The New England town meeting which is other than our national government, is the most direct form of direct legislation. It has the approval of the keenest political observers of the century, and what is better, the men who operate it would not give it up under any conditions: and it is extending to other States. The country part of New England has better roads, and schools, and more public libraries, water works, etc., than the country part of any other section of the United States, and a smaller debt either per capita or per acre. Direct legislation in that field is an emphatic success.—Elfweed Pomeroy, in July *Arena*.

### COMMENT.

The conditions in New England towns, as regards the liberty of the individual, differ but little from the conditions in other American towns. Mr. Pomeroy's comparison is between direct and indirect legislation, and tends to show that the former has marked advantages over the latter. Along certain lines, this is an undoubted fact; but it concerns only the believers in legislation. It is the lesser of two evils, neither of which is necessary. Majority rule, and ultimate submission to arbitrary and often unreasonable authority, are the children of democracy and of direct legislation. Intolerance and bigotry are nowhere more rampant than in our New England towns. It was in one of them that the tar and feather outrage, of which I wrote a few weeks ago, took place. Such a town is certainly no higher in the scale of civilization than the barbarous State of Georgia, with its ex-governor an apologist for brutal and cold-blooded murder, and its attempt at the assassination of Mormon missionaries. These outrages, with many of their kind, belong to the spirit of invasiveness, fostered by law and authority. Nowhere does one enjoy less right of privacy and security from impertinent interference than in these very New England towns. The habit of making laws for others breeds an infection which makes it impossible for a man to mind his own business. The New England town has certain material advantages, as indicated by Mr. Pomeroy; but it is strikingly deficient in the much more important matter of breeding men and women who dare to think for themselves outside of conventional ruts. The majority is always supposed to be right; and ostracism or worse is the penalty of the assertion of independence even in one's personal affairs. Taxes are compulsory here, as in the cities; and the paraphernalia of civil and military authority are proportionally in evidence. There are many pleasant features about the New England town; but let no Anarchist look to it as an exemplar of the principles of liberty. James F. Morton, Jr.

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## A DOSE OF HIS OWN MEDICINE.

I take the following extracts from an editorial in the New York *Tribune*, of August 4. In commenting on the efforts of some labor organizations to raise the wages of labor in their respective trades, it says:

Yet all can see that progress in this direction involves payment by society, that is, by all wage earners as a body, of a disproportionate sum for service of a favored part..... There are over twenty millions wage earners. If one million contrive to get twice the wages paid others in proportion to time given and service rendered, the result is that the nineteen millions are fleeced in order to make the one million more comfortable.

Let us apply this to the protective tariff, a favored pet of the *Tribune*: All can see that increase of wages in a certain industry, caused by a protective tariff involves payment by society, that is, by *all wage earners as a body*, of a disproportionate sum for service of a favored part. This is very true; for as nothing but labor produces wealth, wage earners as a body must pay everything, therefore the protective tariff cannot increase wages as a whole. How now Mr. Tribune, about the protective tariff increasing the wages of American labor? If your monopolist sharks manage to get, through the workings of the protective tariff, a larger profit off the wages of one million of workers in a favored industry, are not the nineteen millions robbed to make millionaires more wealthy? Does not this increase of profits—and increase of wages, if there be any—involve payment by society, by wage earners as a body just the same as in the case you speak of? Are not the capitalist's profits all taken from the products of labor? Don't make faces, Mr. Tribune, it's a dose of your own compound.

Since we are at it, let us inquire if it really is the capital of the millionaire monopolist that employs labor, as protectionists claim. Since "all wage earners as a body" have to pay a disproportionate sum for an increase in the wages of a favored part, it follows that labor produces its own wages—that it is the fruits of labor that pays labor and, therefore, gives employment to labor, so far as the system of capitalism will allow labor to have employment.

Hence it is that instead of its being the capitalist who employs labor, it is the capitalist who, by virtue of the power given money by man-made law in violation of natural law, monopolizes the opportunities to labor and thus prevents labor from employing itself. When we think we see capital employing labor, we only see the capitalist loosening his grip on the monopoly he holds, just enough to free the opportunities to labor sufficiently to give labor employment to work for the capitalist's gain, but not sufficiently to give freedom of employment for the gain of labor.

This is a very simple lesson the *Tribune* has given us, only we knew it before: Neither the protective tariff nor the monopolist's capital gives employment to labor. What the tariff gives to a favored part it takes from the whole body of labor, and what the capitalist gets is taken from the whole body of labor by favor of man-made law. There is no difference except in the manner of expressing it. A. A. Orcutt.

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## PEPPERY POT.

Difficulties seem to have arisen between Leo Tolstoi and the American publishers of his works on account of the latter's refusal to print certain portions of the works claiming them to be liable to confiscation under the infamous Comstock postal laws.

What a revelation it must have been to our friend Tolstoi to learn that he cannot bring out in this "glorious, free" country productions that his own imperial, tyrannical country would not object to!

• • •

Two Austrian lawgivers gave a practical illustration the other day of the correctness of the Anarchists' declaration that all laws and law business are in their last analysis backed by physical force: they fought a duel.

As all our customs, manners and fashions are imported from "Yerrop, ye knaw," it is sincerely to be hoped that this European "code of honor" will soon be introduced here, for if our lawgivers exterminate each other most of our work would be done.

• • •

Future historians will wonderingly and pityingly record the following anomaly: "In the year of 1899 on the threshold of the twentieth century, in Portland, Or., a large city of the United States of North America, a country then laying claim to being the most enlightend of that age and theoretically extending liberty of action to the individual, an ordinance found its way to the statute books making women wearing a 'Mother Hubbard,' a gown of peculiar pattern, upon the street, punishable with a fine of fifteen dollars."

• • •

The holy humbug at Rome is foaming at his mouth because he had not been invited to participate in the aristocratic robbers' peace congress at The Hague. The old imbecile does not seem to realize that he and his ilk are backnumbers even among their own fellow robbers ond loafers.

• • •

The last five per cent of the S. F. teachers' salaries for January are at last being paid. Wonder if the politicians would wait half a year for their salaries. Such are the beauties of government. The thieves who rob the people right and left by political tricks are reveling in luxury at the people's expense while the poor

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with fathers. The "little fa-
sias; the "great father" at Wash-
ly father" at Rome; and the "al-
in heaven are a quartette of bilks and
bing and humbugging and pulling the
the eyes of the poor mortals in one way or
another. Yet one single humbug mother is doing
more mischief than all these fathers combined, for the
strongest power in the world today is Mother Grundy.

* * *

The line of demarkation between tolerance and intolerance is at times so fine as to lead to error. People, for instance, who charge with intolerance the publishers of Anarchistic journals because they reject matter that has no scientific basis whatsoever, but is simply a hash and re-hash of stale assertions that cannot be proven or demonstrated—such people are themselves intolerant, for they wish to occupy the valuable space that had been apportioned for rational matter.

Anarchistic journals are no repository for all kinds of emanations from diseased and cracked brains or over-excited nerves. They are not intended to feed the readers on silly tales of the occurrences of physical impossibilities such as told by baby-nurses or half-demented persons. The monopolistic press is good enough for that kind of trash.

Anarchism is a philosophy that deals not with phantoms, hollow phantastic mind-jugglery and fairy tales, but it confines itself to solid, firm ground. It treats of scientific problems and is based upon facts and not fancies and dreams.

* * *

The political bums at the voting stables have been busily engaged in recording the paper-bullets that were whizzed early and often by the repeaters, healers, stuffers, etc. etc., on cattle-day. Lots of whiskey has been served through secret entrances. The whiskey and cigar dealers, the builders of voting stables, a few printers and a lot of corruptionists' all-around helpers have done a thriving business; the winning politicians have taken the cake and the whole bakery, and the voting cattle feel dignified in having done their duty as American citizens—but are still on the hunt for a boss to exploit them or for a "better boss." Hurrah for perletics!

* * *

Disgusting is the sycophancy of the representative organ of the German ignoramuses of this city called *Demokrat*. In its issue before the primary election day it contained in one column of its editorial page a reminder to the German-American citizen of the importance of the election and an admonition to take advantage of the opportunity of voting and upholding their dignity as American citizens. On the next column a long and detailed description was given of the bacchantic sea voyage "our illustrious lord" (meaning crazy Billy of Germany) is to undertake, stating in full how the ship is provisioned, how many cases of bromo-seltzer it takes to overcome his crazy majesty's sprees, etc. etc.

O, holy simplicity, or unholy duplicity!

* * *

While the representative of German idiocy in this community has thus been exposing its two-facedness in flattering monarchy alongside of democracy, our half-brothers, the governmental Socialists have been busily engaged in driving through the streets a wagon of huge proportions ornamented with Socialistic mottoes and participating in the election humbug in general.

Querry: Who is the most censurable: the ignorant dull-brained fellow who never investigated any social principle at all and therefore does not realize the absurdity of making a compromise between monarchy and democracy, or the intelligent Socialist who has studied sociology and yet perseveres in shouting for freedom while practising slavery by participating in voting which is a process of subjugating the minority and thus suppressing individuality, the basis of freedom and the safest plan to insure the normal and healthy development of a people?

S. D.

## GOVERNMENT'S VITALS.

Government is the brute force of police, soldiers, jailers, in conjunction with gunpowder, steel, hemp and electricity. The price for the animate, and the cost of the inanimate factors of this brutal power, is money—money of the particular kind that has been made legal by this same brute force; this is the one concentrated essence or germ on which the very existence of the governmental incubus depends, the only thing on which the government cancer feeds, by taxing Labor to starvation and death. Those who produce all wealth have but to realize their power to abolish all governments, and thereby live in the enjoyment of liberty and abundance, and this salvation will be accomplished.

There is but one question before the world today—it is money*—the one god for whose favors all of the thousand other gods are loved and mocked, worshipped and crucified; the money power settled its account with that loving, brave Anarchist, the Carpenter,† who whipped the money-changers out of the temple, by first purchasing him for thirty pieces of silver money, and then removing him out of the way of their legal tender manipulations. There was the feeling then, as now, that Anarchists are a powerful menace to hypocrisy and brute force.

Legal tender money is the root of all evil; it allows usury, and was invented for that as its chief end. It can and does create the tramp class by saying "Thou shalt not work," and to the parasite class it says, "Thou shalt not eat unless thou steal."

Government or fiat money is the sole breeder of monopolists and millionaires, in short, monopolists are the government; or to be critically correct, inanimate gold is king, and any and every attempt to destroy government is futile, unless the vitals of the evil thing be attacked.

Interest, simple and compound, increases the debt of the world about $3,000,000,000 annually. The entire stock of the world's gold is about $5,000 000,000, and the annual increase of gold is only about $150,000 000. The stock of gold in the United States is estimated at $975,454 000, a per capita of $12.81! According to the *Engineering and Mining Journal* the American production of gold in 1898 was $65,682,430, less than one dollar each—a very small god to worship! What idiots we are to allow such a pigmy king to rule over us!

No one with any knowledge of the money question denies the assertion that ninety-nine per cent of the business of the world is done with paper, against the one per cent of gold on which the ninety and nine is so damnably based, and absurdly held responsible, and viciously draws usury—interest on ninety-nine times more gold than has been mined. Labor pays it.

The quarrels created in family circles through this unjust governmental money standard of value, are innumerable, and exceedingly mean in their immediate conception. The results, unfortunately, of such family discord, has a degrading influence on the human race, and is daily gloated over by the prostitute press and made an article of commerce.

The only aim of government is to ensure luxury for a few. Our aim is a good, sure, happy living for all who help in the work of promoting happiness.

In business ninety-nine dollars, represented by paper, does the exchanging on the credit of one dollar of gold, so that it does appear Quixotic or Herculean for such high idealists as Anarchists to do their business on the credit of each other. Here is the opening for us to show the world our real aims: suppressing all direct government of man by man, thus permitting those who do the work, lives of ease. Yes, those who do the work living in ease, is not contradictory to any intelligent mind;—if all performed their share according to their ability, an average of two hours daily work would be looked upon as pleasurable employment.

Is not the time at last reached when a Bank of the People, such as Proudhon outlined, can be inaugurated in San Francisco and surrounding counties? Fluerscheim has a Commercial Exchange Bank in successful operation in Wellington, N. Z., and the business men, farmers and manufacturers are proving that the extra medium of exchange—the Commercial Exchange cheques—are a most important factor in facilitating exchanges and consequently stimulating production and of course consumption — lessening worry from usury and mortgage fears and rendering life really worth the trouble of living.

Charles A. Dana in the New York *Sun* in a series of articles on "Proudhon's Bank of the People" says: "Of all monopolies that of credit and the circulating medium is the worst. By means of associations combined through the syndicate of production, industry is so organized that the product goes to the producer.

"By means of the syndicate of consumption, the producers and consumers are brought into direct relations; the poor buy on as good terms as the rich; the workman is enabled to procure materials as well as the capitalist; frauds and adulteration are prevented; the number of agents of exchange is reduced to what is necessary; and, in a word, commerce becomes a strictly social function, regulated, like the management of schools, by the wishes and for the benefit of the community.

"By means of the bank, a circulating medium is afforded, having the best possible guarantee, at the same time that it possesses the capacity of varying in quantity according to the necessities of the public, which silver and gold cannot—wherein lies one ground of the evil connected with their use; the rate of interest is reduced to the cost of managing the business and meeting the contingencies of the bank—and that, let it be remembered, not nominally by an ineffectual usury law, but in fact; and interest being thus reduced to cost, which would be the merest trifle, say one-half of one per cent;—rents would at once fall to their just and natural level, and nobody would be able to make money by owning and letting houses or land; and at the same time the great function of credit and circulation would be in the hands of the producing class, and all speculating and living upon them would be at an end. Such are the fundamental institutions of the republic of wealth. Let the reader ponder them. They are worthy of reflection." *

Further, let us do something, either on Proudhon or Fluerscheim lines; let us act; talking and writing do good as educators doubtless; but it must be action to benefit us. Those who are anxious for better times and liberty, make suggestions. KINGHORN-JONES.

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"Our mistrust justifies the deceit of others."

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## Literature.

THE CAREER OF A NIHILIST. By S. Stepniak (Sergius Kravchinsky) has been translated into the Russian and edited by Mrs. Stepniak, under the title *Andrei Kojoukhov* with a preface by George Brandes.

The Russian translation has been revised by P. Kropotkin who has endeavored to bring out this remarkable novel in a translation worthy of its author.

The preface, by George Brandes, the greatest literary critic of our time, is extremely sympathetic both to the late author, of whose life a short sketch is given, and to the novel which is described as a "true psychology of heroism."

"This book," Brandes writes, "is not only a novel, quite true to life and fascinating in the highest degree, but it also contains a fine and thorough analysis—which cannot be found any where else in European literature—of the inner motives that moved the educated youth of Russia under Alexander II, from the time that Nihilism attained its fullest development, to the bold acts of this youth which though accomplished with heroism, were suppressed with cruelty and unfortunately remained without an apparent result."

The Russian edition of 380 pages, nicely printed, is sold at 75 cents and may be obtained through Mrs. Stepniak (Crockham Hill, Edenbridge, Kent) and through the Russian Library (29, Whitechapel Rd., London E.) where also may be had the Russian versionof the much smaller but charming novel "The Cottage by the Volga" and the drama "The Convert" which was produced at a London theatre in English by Mr. C. Charrington and his friends. The book is sold by *Free Society* and Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York.

* The assertion that there is "but one question before the world today—money" is misleading, for it is government—brute force—on one side and ignorance and submission on the other that confront us. Without government money would be powerless.

† I also deny that "the carpenter" was an Anarchist. If he existed at all, which is doubtful, he was nothing but a so-called reformer, for he distinctly stated that he had not come to abolish but to uphold the law, and he also approved taxation. A. I.

* Dana admits that there would be rich and poor anyway, and that is far from having a condition of equality, even if the rich and poor buy on equal terms. And so long as there are rich and poor so long is government essential to protect the cunning against the honest people. A. I.

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The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

## "THE MONEY QUESTION."

In your comments on my letter in *Free Society* of July 23, under the heading "The money question," you say:

"There was a time when the medium of exchange was neither gold nor silver, when it was a piece of leather, and yet slavery existed," etc.

My fight is not against the previous metals as such, but against scarcity. In all countries, and in all ages, the medium of exchange has been insufficient for the full requirements of business, and the moneyless man has either been a chattel slave, or a servile discontented wage slave to the moneyed class. (1)

"Perfect individual and industrial freedom does not depend upon the medium of exchange as such, but upon the economical condition and the freedom of action."

Our economical condition cannot be permanently improved until the people acquire a more general knowledge of the three economical forces or factors, which most vitally affect all civilized peoples. They are: production, distribution and money. The third and artificial factor controls the other two.

Unfortunately for the poor, the power of this controlling factor by and through which the distributive exchanges of production must be made, is treated by our reform papers either as a secondary consideration or with silent contempt. Yet in their frantic appeals for subscribers and in the inducements they offer in the way of books, sewing machines, etc., shows in practice how really important they consider it. If in response to their appeals new names of subscribers and their dollars come rolling in, the paper is considered a financial success, it is at once enlarged, and its influence for good has been increased manyfold by this increase of despised money. There is one form of "freedom of action" conferred on the proprietors by a plentiful supply of money.(2)

"The fact that our banks are burdened with gold is ample proof that the scarcity is the effect of monopoly," etc.

The very fact that it is gold, is the cause of the scarcity; and scarcity in our circulating medium produces monopolies, and prevents "freedom of action" in our exchange; there would be no scarcity, hoarding, and no monopolies of any kind if the people only knew that money, as such, has no value, that it merely represents value, that it is fully redeemed with every purchase we make; that its willing acceptance by the people as good money, does not rest on the fact or supposition that somewhere in a vault is buried some other kind of money to redeem it, nor does it rest on land as security, but simply on the confidence of the people in a permanent and stable form of government, and also in a confidence of exchange. That is, I receive it in exchange with confidence that others will receive it from me. (3)

"Therefore the sole source of our miseries is government and ignorance—the submissiveness of the governed."

The plea that princes reign and rule by divine right, or that governments of any kind rest on the intelligent and willing consent of the governed, is untrue. It is the rule of force, and the compulsory consent thereto by the masses brought about through their ignorance of their economic rights. Taking advantage of this specific ignorance the exploiting class, through the power of scarce money, prevents the many from enjoying freedom of action in their exchanges.

It is not "a gross misconception of facts" to say that until we are intelligent enough to control the power of money we can never hope to enjoy perfect individual freedom. (4) J. C. PATTERSON.

1.—Correct, and they will be slaves as long as they submit to government and monopoly. "Scarcity" is the direct result of monopoly.

2.—The conditions will not be improved unless the people become aware of the fact that they are enslaved and robbed and resist such invasion. Money could not control production and distribution if monopoly of the medium of exchange and the natural resources were abolished. On the other hand, no matter what medium of exchange may be established, it will be controlled by the cunning and shrewd as long as monopoly exists.

3.—In Russia the people hardly ever see gold. The government issues paper money redeemable in full with gold on presentation in the government banks. Yet when paper money is presented and gold asked for only about half of the amount is paid.

4.—Correct again: ignorance is the cause of our miseries, for if the people would not submit to government and the monopolization of the natural resources there would be no scarcity either of the medium of exchange or of the necessaries of life. But let monopoly remain intact and the people will ever be devoured by those in power. A. I.

## The Letter-Box.

Malfew Seklew, England.—You have not answered my question, viz: the difference between an altruist and egoist hangman. That there are Anarchists who have a "logical understanding of the motives that actuate every organism" and such that do not clearly understand that selfishness is the sole cause of our actions, I freely admit, but I deny that there are "altruist Anarchists" and "egoistic Anarchists." Self gratification is the spring of all our actions and it is ridiculous to qualify. It seems to me you are drunk on egoism.

S. A. T., Narcisse, Pa.—Yes, we are receiving *The Flaming Sword*, the exponent of the fad called "Koreshanity," but I will not venture to say whether Dr. Teed is sincere or not Let him enjoy his hobby.

M. S., Tacoma, Wash.—The address of N. C. J. was wrong but is now corrected; he will receive the paper hereafter regularly.

Ch. Q., Worcester, Mass.—*Free Society* is sent to the Free Public Libary of your city. The other parties have been supplied with sample copies, but none of them has responded so far. Greetings.

W. N. S., Los Angeles, Cal.—Your subscription expires with No. 250 and so you have no reason to worry.

F. Ebers, Cazadero, Cal.—We were glad to hear that you have established a co-operative home on your farm.

M. K., Atlantic City —Letter received and new subscriber entered. Thanks.

Kate Austin, Caplinger Mills, Mo. Thanks for contribution. I wish you would write oftener, comrade; short articles on current events are always welcome. When in better mood will write you. Greetings,

M. C. R., Yankton, So. Dak.—How the Americans ever will become a free and independent nation? Lafayette says: "For a nation to love liberty it is sufficient that she knows it; to be free it is sufficient that she wills it."

S. T., city.—Rochefoucauld says in regard to wholesale robberies: "There are some crimes which become innocent, and even glorious, by their renown, and their excess. Hence it is that public robberies become proofs of talent, and seizing whole provinces unjustly is called making conquests." Sabe?

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